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THE HOPE OF THE PHILIPPINES.

BY MAJOR LOUIS LIVINGSTON SEAMAN, LATE SURGEON UNITED STATES VOLUNTEERS.

As colonizers, in the practical acceptance of the word, Americans are not and never can be successful, because of the excessive idealism of their aspirations. Despite the general belief that the acquisition of the Almighty Dollar is the height of our ambition as a people, the aims of all American military expeditions, throughout our entire history, have been absolutely altruistic—always for the elevation of the downtrodden or the relief of the victims of tyranny. We have constantly endeavored to create self-respecting, self-supporting citizens, capable of appreciating liberty and of intelligently exercising that greatest of all blessings, self-government.

Can history furnish a parallel to America's disinterested emancipation of Cuba from Spain? It involved a war with a European Power, the loss of the lives of thousands of her free-born citizens, and the expenditure, with unexampled prodigality, of a round billion from her treasury. Then, after stamping out tyranny, she completed the conquest by putting the island in sanitary condition and transferring it to a liberated people, giving them their lands, their cities and their homes, together with a promise of protection from other Powers through the Monroe Doctrine, without saddling the country with a financial claim of indemnity for a single cent. Would this have been the policy of the other great colonizing countries of the world? The recent action of the so-called "Powers" in Africa does not tend to indicate that it would. Since the wonderful discoveries of Livingstone, which so greatly stimulated the world's appreciation of the possibilities of that continent, there has been going on in that vast domain a carnival of territorial lust unprecedented in history. It cul-

minated some twenty years ago in the so-called partitioning of the continent by the Powers, who, in their division of the spoils, followed, like the robber barons of feudal times,

“The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.”

And what has been done there in the name of civilization to justify this robbery of a continent? Very little, beyond the systematized collection of taxes so onerous as to practically reduce the natives to abject servitude.

A similar spoliation, on a somewhat smaller scale, would have occurred in the Celestial Empire after the Boxer war had not the diplomacy of Europe been defeated there. The allied armies of eight nations were there waiting, watching each other like hungry buzzards, for the final dissolution of the sick man of the Far East, when they thought another opportunity would offer for an extension of their territorial spheres. But the humane and enlightened policy of Mr. Hay, demanding the preservation of the integrity of China and the maintenance of the open door, was successful, and the people of that unhappy land were rescued from the fate of the helpless, and almost hopeless, Africans of to-day. And let it never be forgotten they were rescued by America.

On the occasion of a second and recent outbreak in Cuba, when internal dissensions disturbed the peace and order of that country and necessitated its occupation by an army of intervention, America did not take advantage of the opportunity to seize that gem of the Antilles to make it a tributary to her treasury.

Nor did we seek the Philippines for territorial aggrandizement. They fell to us as the unexpected, but legitimate, result of war, and when they were definitely ceded to us by treaty we paid for them with clean American gold. Twice I have visited these islands, once as an active participant in the wretched war that began in 1898, and which is likely to continue intermittingly for centuries—if the testimony of almost every army officer who has served there can be accepted—if we remain there so long. But since our occupation of the archipelago, the real motive of America in administering its affairs has been absolutely unselfish. Of the hundreds of millions sunk in that region of treachery

and savagery it is doubtful whether America will ever reap the benefit of so much as the price of the homeward passage for its army.

Was it as a stepping-stone for the trade of the Orient that we retained possession of the Philippines? The oldest and most respected American merchant in China, one who has spent forty years in the Orient and has represented his Government in various important capacities, said to me while discussing this point:

"As well might America regard the Bermudas or the Canary Isles as stepping-stones for the English, French or German trade of Europe, as require the Philippines for the advancement of trade in the East. Instead of a help they are a direct menace, requiring protection and provoking international jealousies; and, in case of war, they would be a constant source of the gravest danger because of their great distance from our base."

Is it for the financial advantage of the United States that our thousand school-teachers are now drawing salaries in the attempt to educate these semi-savage, deceitful Malays, tainted with Spanish cross, who for centuries will be unable to eradicate the treacherous and cowardly instincts of their race? "By the same path must ye walk" is as true to-day as it was two thousand years ago. The continuity of history cannot be broken; a people cannot break with its past; immemorial heredity must be remembered. To suppose that from the low-bred Filipino there could be evolved in a single generation one worthy or competent to exercise self-government, is to ignore every law of anthropology and natural selection, and to indulge in the wildest optimism. Is it possible to believe that such a creature, the natural product of his tropical environment—whose evolution has taken ages in the development of the instincts of cunning and treachery, the characteristics and qualities that have enabled him to preserve his existence in the land of the tiger and the viper—could be suddenly translated into a self-governing citizen? The Anglo-Saxon of temperate clime has required many centuries of natural selection to evolve from his savagery. As the cave-man, he too was full of ferocity, guarding his home and his family with his life. Evolving from the dark ages through feudal days assisted by the teaching and traditions of the Church, the example of Greece and Rome and the Free Cities of Europe, profiting by the lessons of the Reformation, the influence of the thought of great leaders, by long wars

for the vindication of right, by Magna Charta, the printing-press, the drama, the French Revolution, and our own Revolution; through all these things he gradually developed from ignorance and superstition into a thinking, self-governing man. But in this development it required a thousand years to free him from his ignorance and moral serfdom, and to prepare him to rule himself. Is the African or Malay savage so infinitely the intellectual and moral superior of the Caucasian, that he can emerge from his savagery into this sphere of civilization, and attain this rich inheritance, in a single decade? Is this self-governing ability (which is not yet overdeveloped among ourselves, as the resident of any great American city must confess) to be hypodermically injected in concentrated essence into the ignorant, treacherous, low-bred Filipino, by bullets, or prayer-books, or school-houses, in a generation, so as to qualify him for beneficent assimilation? The suggestion is preposterous.

I believe the most practical solution of the Philippine problem—if the American people are foolish enough to continue their extravagant experiment there, or if we are not relieved of the responsibility of the islands by neutralizing them, or through some foreign complication—is to allow them to follow the course of natural selection through the importation of the Chinaman. His exclusion from these islands was a diplomatic blunder, comparable only with the treatment of the Oriental on our Pacific coast at the instigation of the Sand-lot orators, the charlatan politicians, and the yellow journalism of California. When I was last in the Philippines there were about one hundred thousand Chinese there, who formed by far the most industrious class of the inhabitants. The Chinese *mestizo* (half Chinese and half Filipino) is acknowledged to be superior to the Eurasian, or *mestizo* of Occidental cross—as well as to the Japanese, Hindu, or Bornean. Many of them were wealthy bankers or merchants. Others were engaged as compradors or clerks, banking-houses employing them almost to the exclusion of other nationalities on account of their quick wit, sterling honesty, industry, and individual merit. As in the Hawaiian Islands, they formed the most valuable element of the population. The Chinese-Hawaiian half-caste is the keenest business man and the most industrious citizen to be found in those islands. The exclusion of the Chinese laborer from the Philippines will do inestimable damage by retarding

industrial and commercial development. Despite his fanaticism when directed by ignorant rulers, he has shown his superiority over other Orientals in his untiring industry, his domesticity and his honesty. In the large foreign hongs, or business houses, of China and Japan he is the trusted employee in places requiring responsibility. When put in competition with the Bornean, the Filipino, the Cingalese, the Hawaiian, the Japanese, or the Hindu, he invariably wins, as may be seen by his rise from poverty to wealth and influence in the cities of Singapore, Calcutta, Sandakan, Manila, Honolulu or Yokohama. It is time America recognized that, in the great race of civilization, and the greater race for the survival of the fittest, the nation that has preserved the integrity of its government for over six thousand years, that has witnessed the rise and fall of the civilizations of Chaldea, Egypt, Greece and Rome, that can claim the discovery of the compass, of gunpowder, the game of chess, and the printing-press, and that gave birth to that great philosopher who, five hundred years before the coming of Christ, propounded and exemplified the doctrine, Do not do unto others what you would not have others do unto you, is more to be feared for its virtues than for its vices. The presence of the Chinaman in the Philippines—with the substitution of his characteristics of honesty, domesticity and industry, for the dishonesty, laziness and treachery of the Filipino—will do more to promote the industrial development and the civilization of these islands than any other factor, and the sooner America appreciates this fact and acts upon it, the more prompt will be her relief from her present embarrassing position.

Uncle Sam has paid, and is paying dearly, for his experiment and the privilege of protecting the trade of his distant possessions for the benefit of England, Germany and Japan. Some day he will tire of the constant drain on his treasury and his army, and remove these islands from the arena of politics, and the natural law of evolution will prevail—and many there are who will welcome the coming of that day.

LOUIS LIVINGSTON SEAMAN.